1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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IV. APPAREL AND ORNAMENT

Clothing

In general the Tukuna of today wear the same poor sort of apparel as the Neo-brazilians of the same region, but many of them also have quite regular clothes, some of which they make themselves from purchased material. Their ambition is to possess also a felt hat and a pair of shoes, although even under the best conditions shoes incommode them horribly, and few own them. Their best clothing is carefully kept for festive occasions. On workdays they wear only the oldest and most patched fragments, which, though ragged, are not dirty, for the Tukuna will not tolerate the stench of filthy garments.

Even today the women of the igarapés will walk about the house or clearing naked from the waist up, and the men, when going to hunt, wear only an old, torn pair of trousers; sometimes they hitch them up by the belt to form a sort of loin-cloth. The children go naked until about five years of age.

The reports of the ancient dress vary. The earliest observer, Padre Monteiro Noronha in 1768, states: "The women have no modesty at all; the men still cover the parts destined for procreation with wide fringes of thread twisted from a certain white tow which they obtain from tree bark."[1] According to Tessmann, the men went completely naked, with the sexual parts in natural position, whereas the women used an unpainted, triangular piece of tururí cloth (*Ficusbastzeug*). Apparently this account of the men's attire requires revision. Actually, the glans was tucked beneath the waist belt. This custom was not only confirmed by my informants but is also mentioned in the culture-hero legend, which tells of *e'pi*: "He pulls his penis from behind the waist belt and dances about the fire.... With this his penis was shaken up. tĕčlarĵnuĵ' saw this from her hiding place and could not resist laughing." (See p. 127.)

The festive attire of the men was composed of two small semicircular tangas, one in front and one in back. These were made of painted white tururí cloth just like those worn today by the boys during the rites of passage, *ceremonias de passagem* (pl. 12, *m*). It is probably this garment to which Spix refers as "einen zierlichen Gürtel aus Bast," and which Henry Lister Maw calls "a belt of bark round the waist."[2] In Spix's plate, however, the Tukuna—except one who is completely nude, with the penis in natural position—are all dressed in a nondescript cloth.

According to Castelnau, "une feuille est fixée autour des reins."[3] The plate in the second volume of Bates's work—probably, in spite of some obvious errors, the best illustration of the Tukuna of early times—shows men and women with a tanga hanging in front of a thick belt. In Barbosa Rodrígues' illustration[4] the Indian male wears over the sexual parts a small covering, which is not clear in the plate. The text mentions "bands of the same textile [cotton] with which they cover the sexual parts."

[1] Monteiro Noronha, Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará, § 140.
[2] Maw, p. 211.
[3] Castelnau, 5:45.
[4] Barbosa Rodrígues, Ticunas, p. 53.

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301 Two other items, of purely ornamental character, were apparently part of the ancient daily dress of the men: a necklace of monkey or jaguar teeth and armbands decorated with feathers. In Spix's plate these are not shown, but Henry Lister Maw writes of "some rows of teeth round the neck and some feathers on his arms." Castelnau describes them as follows:

> ... la plupart d'entre eux portent aux bras de très curieux bracelets, qui sont fait d'un bouquet de plumes en forme de roc, d'une belle couleur orange, et qui proviennent de la queue d'une espèce d'Acuri; ils les surmontent d'une autre [*sic*] bouquet de plumes flottantes arrachées aux ailes du Savacou, derrière lesquelles paraissent les longues pennes de la queue de l'Ara rouge. On voyait au cou de quelques uns un double collier de dents de tigre ou de singe.[5]

In Marcoy's plate, the Tukuna wear feathered arm bands (of cotton, according to the text) and a four-strand necklace of monkey teeth. In Barbosa Rodrígues' plate, arm bands also appear, as well as a double necklace of teeth: "The men wear great necklaces of pig's teeth ... and, on feast days, some arm bands made of macaw feathers, the arm bands proper being of small feathers of the scarlet macaw, and the ornaments being of blue and yellow tail feathers from the canindé macaw." Even today, the girls use similar arm bands during the puberty ceremony; the boys wear arm bands and necklaces of teeth in the hair-plucking and clipping ceremony. Nowadays the ribbon of the arm band is mostly made of tucum thread woven or plaited on a small frame of rods (pl. 11, *b*).

291 Women's dress was formerly a very short section of cotton cloth around the hips. In 1929 I knew an Indian woman who was the only one who still wore this regularly, but the girls used it until a few years ago for the puberty ceremony (pl. 12, *d*). This cloth (napa'), measuring 105 by 36 cm., was of a relatively thin and coarse woven cotton cloth decorated with some longitudinal stripes of black.

286 These cloths, as well as the slings for carrying infants, are woven on a vertical, rectangular frame of rods (na:'pavēru), the threads of the warp being passed over the horizontal rods. The alternate raising of odd and even threads (*Fachbildung*) is accomplished by means of a system of threads (na:-a'pëtĭna, "navel"). (See pl. 8, *c*.) The woof is rolled over a small stick and spread apart with a woolen knife (tuë'pēru). Tessmann denies that the Tukuna knew the art of weaving,[6] but even Marcoy mentions the tanga, and Barbosa Rodrígues writes of "a large tanga woven of cotton or turury which encircles the hips."

301 Rodrígues also reproduces the feather head ornament the men used to wear, which today has completely disappeared, describing it as follows: "... a large, feathered forehead band of the wings of the same macaw [*canindé*] edged with tiny red feathers and completed by four or five long tail feathers of the scarlet macaw in front." The plate shows this piece as a circlet of clipped feathers about twelve centimeters long, fastened together and mounted on a narrow band of some woven material, encircling the head; there are four very long feathers curving to the rear.

292 According to Tessmann, the headdress, called *nabátu* (i.e., na:-patĕe), was made of the *Scheelea* (?) palm and feathers. My informants said this piece was a cotton bonnet with short toucan feathers attached to the woven material; it was used

[5] Castelnau, *loc. cit.*
[6] Tessmann, p. 561.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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PLATE 2

Children of mëë'tʃua (pl. 3, *a*), Igarapé da Rita. *a*. Genezio vanə̈'k], aged twenty-five. *b*. Manoel nu'ë'tʃ-k], aged sixteen. *c*. Avellina ĕita'na, aged twenty. *d*. Belcea bu':-në-na, aged twelve.

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302
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[351]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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142
●291
302

a

b

[301]

c

d

CHILDREN OF mẽ'tire, MARAPÉ DA RITA

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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PLATE 3

142
302
291
[551]

a, mïë'tjua, Igarapé da Rita, aged fifty. *b*. Josefa dya'ïmena, aged twelve, Igarapézinho. *c*. Joaquim gu'ë', aged eighteen, Igarapézinho, brother of Josefa. *d*, Julio dyië', Igarapézhino, aged fourteen, brother of Josefa.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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142
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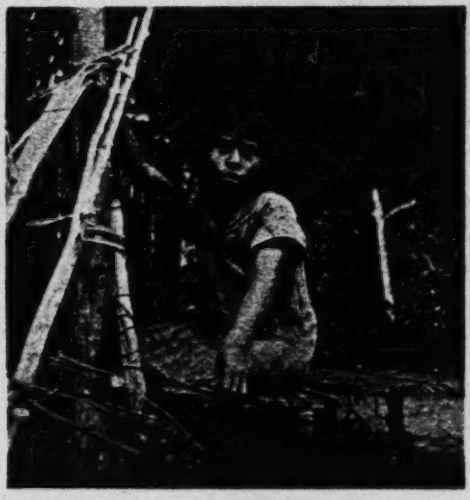
291

a



b

c

d

MÉTRAS IGARAPÉ DA RITA; THREE YOUNG PEOPLE FROM IGARAPÉZINHO

[p. 176 contains no text]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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854

A VISITING FAMILY

[p. 178 contains no text]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

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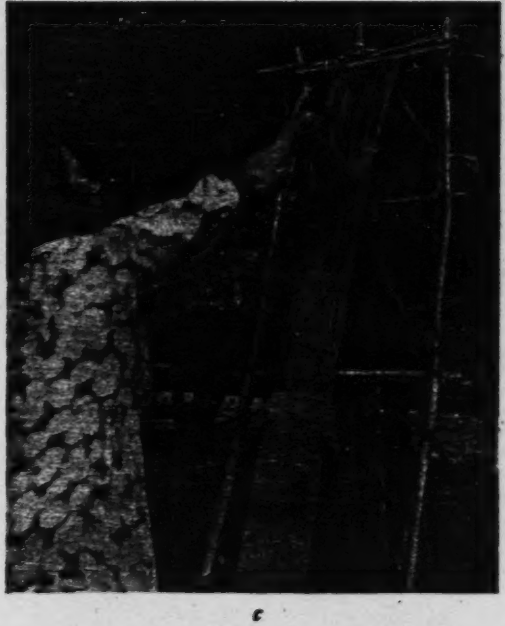
482
854
291

a

b



c

CARRYING SLING; WEAVING TECHNIQUE

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

524

a b

c d

396

285
291

e f

STRING FIGURES; CONSTRUCTION OF A CANOE; CALIXTO dzeru'kj

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

881
291
142
[302]

a

b

[534]

c

GIRL AT PUBERTY CEREMONY

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

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535
881

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301
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PLATE 65.—Tucuna Indians of the 19th century. *Top:* Part of girl's puberty ceremony. (After Marcoy, 1869.) *Bottom:* Tucuna of the upper Amazon; a *Mundurucú* woman in center. (After Osculati, 1854.)

[p. 714 B]

2: Nimuendaju E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women [174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore 301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At 292 feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadems.

MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark 289 cloth (pl. 64).

285 **Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried [482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, [531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. [776] Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de- 531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

411 **Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison [278] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manu- [178] facture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. [231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre- [173] Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians [762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

000 by Portuguese merchants, who are occupied with a very restricted trade in sarsaparilla, cotton goods, and salt-fish. If there is little to divert the residents there, at all events [136] mosquitoes are very common, and the chique or *pulex penetrans* abounds; whilst the first feed on your blood, the second, like troglodytes, excavate little caverns and holes beneath the toes, where they increase and multiply, perfectly indifferent to the violent itching which you suffer from their filthy presence.

797 The Loreto factory, in which I lived some days, would not have furnished me much information concerning the original Loreto mission, except for the excursion I made in the company of a very young Portuguese with whom I temporarily shared the dwelling.

● [291]

PENANCE IMPOSED ON TWO YOUNG GIRLS.

The égaritéa which had brought me to Loreto had left for Nauta, and it was in a sort of canoe that we ascended the river as far as the Quebrada of Atacoari, where my young man had some business to transact. It was in the interior of this gorge, whence flows a river of black water, that in 1710 the Equatorian Jesuits had founded, under the patronage of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, the first mission of this name, of which there no longer remain any traces. The grandchildren of the converts, Indians of the [131] Ticuna race, now dwell in a state of nature on both banks of the Atacoari.

133 The narrow and winding entrance to the quebrada is invaded by the Amazon, whose white waters extend to the distance of a mile and a half inland. Pendant branches and vines, stretching across from one bank to the other, give the outline on the blue sky of those festoons and streamers of which the author of *Lutris* speaks. At the time we ascended, the river, which had been overflowing since the evening, had already covered the banks and their bushes. Little trees, of which the trunks had disappeared, still displayed their leafy tops, and seemed to protest against the inundation.

After a zigzag progress for an hour amid the submerged vegetation, of which our

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The colour of these natives recalled that of old mahogany. A thick rough mane of hair covered their shoulders. The man was decorated on each cheek with tattoo-marks of a deep blue, produced with the juice of the *Pseudo-Añil indigofera*, the design of which somewhat resembled the Chinese letters on a tea-chest. He wore round his neck a necklace made of three or four rows of monkeys' teeth mounted on an osier framework; a brassart of woven cotton, ornamented with a bunch of yellow feathers and surmounted with a crest composed of the long feathers of the ara, was fastened just below the shoulder of each arm; bracelets of a similar material, but without the *pompon* or crest, encircled his legs above the ankles; and a peculiar girdle round his loins completed his attire. In his hand he carried a lance of palm-wood, with a notched point. The woman had neither the hieroglyphic marks on her face nor

CANOE OF THE TICUNA INDIANS ON THE RIVER AYACOARI.

the crested bracelets on her arm. She wore a necklace of red glass beads, acquired in one of her husband's transactions with the Brazilians. A band of woven cotton adorned the lower part of her legs, and a belt of the same material, none too wide, encircled her loins.

This little group, dimly seen in the faint light of the quebrada, and standing out in relief against the rich back-ground of vegetation, through which the blue sky was here and there visible, presented a charming subject for a sketch, of which I proceeded to take advantage. Having stopped the canoe, my companion amused the two Ticunas while I set to work to paint them. Puzzled by my occupation as much as by the intentness with which I regarded them, the couple exchanged some observations in an idiom with which I was unacquainted, and in the utterance of which they appeared to use their throat rather than their tongue. The gutturals of Hebrew, the double consonants of the Quichua tongue, the G, the Jotas and the X of the Castilian, are sounds of the softest melody compared with the vocal gurgling of these Ticunas,

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, 171
and possessing its pajé or medicine man, who fosters its superstitions; 181
but they are much more idle and debauched than other Indians belonging to the superior tribes. They are not so warlike and loyal as the Mundurucús, although resembling them in many respects, nor have they the slender figures, dignified mien, and gentle disposition of the Passés; there are, however, no trenchant points of difference to distinguish them from these highest of all the tribes. Both men and women are tattooed, 304
the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short straight lines on the face. Most of the older people wear bracelets, anklets, and garters of tapir-hide or tough bark; in their homes they 301 291
wear no other dress except on festival days, when they ornament themselves with feathers or masked cloaks made of the inner bark of a tree. They were very shy when I made my first visits to their habitations in 609
the forest, all scampering off to the thicket when I approached, but on subsequent days they became more familiar, and I found them a harmless, good-natured people.

A great part of the horde living at the first Maloca or village dwell in 342
a common habitation, a large oblong hut built and arranged inside with [621]
such a disregard of all symmetry, that it appeared as though constructed by a number of hands, each working independently, stretching a rafter or fitting in a piece of thatch, without reference to what his fellow-labourers were doing. The walls as well as the roof are covered with thatch of palm-leaves; each piece consisting of leaflets plaited and attached in a row to a lath many feet in length. Strong upright posts support the roof, hammocks being slung between them, leaving a free space for passage and for fires in the middle, and on one side is an elevated stage (*girao*) overhead, formed of split palm-stems. The Tucúnas excel 323
most of the other tribes in the manufacture of pottery. They make 415
broad-mouthed jars, for Tucupí sauce, caysúma or mandioca beer, capable of holding twenty or more gallons, ornamenting them outside with crossed diagonal streaks of various colours. These jars, with cooking-pots, smaller jars for holding water, blow-pipes, quivers, matirí bags * [352]
full of small articles, baskets, skins of animals, and so forth, form the principal part of the furniture of their huts, both large and small. The dead bodies of their chiefs are interred, the knees doubled up, in large 766
jars under the floors of their huts.

The semi-religious dances and drinking bouts usual amongst the [273]
settled tribes of Amazonian Indians are indulged in to greater excess [535]
by the Tucúnas than they are by most other tribes. The Juruparí or 776
Demon is the only superior being they have any conception of, and his name is mixed up with all their ceremonies, but it is difficult to ascertain what they consider to be his attributes. He seems to be believed in simply as a mischievous imp, who is at the bottom of all those mishaps

* These bags are formed of remarkably neat twine made of Bromelia fibres [286]
elaborately knitted, all in one piece, with sticks; a belt of the same material, but more closely woven, being attached to the top to suspend them by. They afford good examples of the mechanical ability of these Indians. The Tucúnas also possess the [281]
art of skinning and stuffing birds, the handsome kinds of which they sell in great [439]
numbers to passing travellers.